

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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PUBLIC PAPERS.

Commercial Stipulations made by France, in the several Treaties and Conventions, which she has entered into since the year 1794, inclusive.

In the Letter to Lord Hawkesbury (Register, p. 398), on the omission to stipulate, in the treaty of Amiens, for *treaties of commerce* with the parties, with whom we were making peace, it was stated, that this omission, on the part of our negotiators, did not arise from any *new practice* having in this respect, been adopted by the powers of Europe. In support of this statement, the commercial stipulations, which France had made with Russia, Turkey, and Portugal, were cited; and, since the publishing of that letter, we have seen another instance of the same sort, in her treaty with Tunis. This might have sufficed for every purpose; but, in order to demonstrate the universality of the practice of France in obtaining those stipulations, which she has not suffered us to obtain, and which our ministers now affect to regard as of *no value*, we have examined all the treaties made by the republic since the beginning of her destructive career, and the following extracts will show, that, in *thirteen* treaties and conventions, besides the four above-mentioned, she has made stipulations in favour of the interests of her commerce.

Extract from the Treaty of Peace, &c. between the French Republic and that of the United Provinces. Signed at the Hague, May 16, 1795.

Art. XII. The French Republic has reserved, as a just indemnity, the conquered towns and countries restored by the preceding article, viz.

1. Dutch Flanders, comprising all the territory on the right bank of the Hondt.

2. Maestricht, Venloo, and their dependencies, as well as the other boundaries and possessions of the United Provinces, situated to the south of Venloo, on both sides of the Meuse.

XIII. There shall be in the town and port of Flushing, a French garrison exclusively, whether in time of peace or war, until it shall be otherwise stipulated by the two nations.

XIV. The port of Flushing shall be common to the two nations in every respect; its use shall be submitted to a regulation agreed upon between the two contracting parties, which regulation shall be added as a supplement to the present treaty.

XVIII. The navigation of the Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt and the Hondt, and of all their branches as far as the sea, shall be free to the French as well as to the Dutch nation; the ships of the French and of the United Provinces, shall be received there indiscriminately, and on the same conditions.

Regulation for determining the Use of the Port of Flushing in consequence of the XIVth Article of the Treaty before-mentioned. Signed, May 16, 1795.

Art. I. The French and Dutch nations shall equally resort to the port and bason of Flushing, for the purpose of repairing and equipping their ships.

II. Each nation shall have in that port, separately and distinctly, its own arsenals, magazines, docks, and workmen.

III. In order, from the present time, to introduce the French nation to the common advantages of the port of Flushing, the Republic of the United Provinces will cede to it the building, over the bason, or wet dock, which serves as a warehouse for the West-India Company: there shall likewise be assigned to it land sufficient for erecting docks and arsenals, and till these can be completed it shall have the use of the docks at present existing.

IV. With respect to the acquisition of new territory, and the construction of buildings which each nation may be inclined to make in the port and bason of Flushing, to enlarge its own magazines, arsenals, and docks, or to erect others, the expense of rebuilding or repairing the said arsenals, magazines, and docks, and the expenses incurred by the building, repairing, and equipping of the respective ships, with every thing relating thereto, shall be defrayed by each nation respectively.

V. The repairs necessary for the port, bason, and quays, being for the mutual advantage of both nations, the expense of such repairs shall be defrayed by both governments.

These repairs shall be ascertained, ordered, and conducted under the direction of the United Provinces: the direction of the French Republic shall only relate to the repairs that are to be made; and when they are finished, it shall be limited to the means of preservation, and to transmitting the procès-verbal to its government, together with the statement of expenses, in order that it may be afterwards prepared to discharge its moiety of the said expenses.

VI. It is agreed that neither of the two nations shall station in the port an admiral's ship nor a guard ship.

VII. In all instances where disputes may arise, which cannot be amicably terminated, as to the execution of the present regulation, such disputes shall be decided by five arbitrators, who shall be appointed as follows: viz. two by the French direction, two by the Dutch direction, and, for the fifth, each direction shall appoint a *neutral*, and of the two *neutrals* so appointed, the one who is to fulfil the functions of fifth arbitrator, shall be determined by chance.

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VIII. The present regulation shall be executed according to its form and tenor, as making part of the XIVth article of the treaty of peace and alliance of the present day, between the French Republic and that of the United Provinces.

From the Treaty relative to the Neutrality of a Part of the Empire, between the French Republic and the King of Prussia. Signed at Basle, May 17, 1795.

Art. I. In order to remove the seat of war from the frontiers of the states of his Majesty the King of Prussia, to preserve the tranquillity of the north of Germany, and to re-establish the entire liberty of commerce between that part of the Empire and France, in the same manner as before the war, &c.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the King of Spain. Signed at Basle, July 22, 1795.

Art. XI. In the interim, while a new treaty of commerce is preparing between the contracting parties, all the communications and commercial relations shall be re-established between France and Spain on the same footing as they were before the present war.

All French merchants shall be at liberty to return to and resume in Spain their commercial establishments, and to form new ones, as may suit their convenience, on submitting, like other individuals, to the laws and customs of the country.

The Spanish merchants shall enjoy the same privilege in France, and on the same conditions.

From the Treaty between the French Republic and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. Signed at Basle, August 28, 1795.

Art. VI. All communications and commercial relations shall be re-established between France and the states of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on the footing on which they were before the present war.

From the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia. May 15, 1796.

Art. VII. There shall be immediately concluded between the two powers, a treaty of commerce on an equitable basis, and such as may secure to the French nation advantages, at least equal to those enjoyed in the dominions of the King of Sardinia by the most favoured nations.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Duke of Wirtemberg. Signed, August 22, 1796.

Art. VI. There shall be immediately concluded between the two powers, a treaty of commerce, on bases reciprocally advantageous.

In the mean time all commercial relations shall be re-established, the same as they were before the present war.

All the goods and merchandizes, the produce of the soil, the manufactures, colonies, or French fish-

eries, shall enjoy in the states of his Serene Highness, the liberty of transit and entrepôt, and be exempted from all duties, except those of tolls on carriages and horses.

The French carriers shall be treated, with respect to the payment of the said tolls, in the same manner as the most favoured nation.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Margrave of Baden. August 22, 1796.

Art. XV. There shall be immediately concluded between the two powers, a treaty of commerce, on bases reciprocally advantageous. In the mean time all commercial relations shall be re-established, the same as they were before the present war.

All the goods and merchandizes, the produce of the soil, the manufactures, colonies, or French fisheries, shall enjoy, in the states of his Serene Highness, the liberty of transit and entrepôt, and be exempted from all duties, except those of tolls on carriages and horses.

The French carriers shall be treated, with respect to the payment of the said tolls, in the same manner as the most favoured nation.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the King of the Two Sicilies. Oct. 11, 1796.

Art. XI. There shall be negotiated and concluded, as speedily as possible, a treaty of commerce between the two powers, founded on the basis of mutual utility, and such as will ensure to the French nation advantages equal to those enjoyed by the most favoured nations, in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Till this treaty be concluded the commercial and consular relations shall be reciprocally re-established, the same as they were before the war.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Infant Duke of Parma. Nov. 5, 1796.

Art. IX. The French Republic and his Royal Highness the Infant Duke of Parma, being desirous of re-establishing and increasing, by stipulations reciprocally advantageous, the commercial relations which existed between their respective citizens and subjects, agree as follows.

Art. X. Silks in the woof, grain, olive, oil, cattle, cheeses, wines, oil of petroleum, and other merchandizes and raw products of the states of his Royal Highness, may be exported, to be introduced into the territory of the Republic, without any other restrictions than those which the wants of the country may render necessary. The said restrictions can never particularly and especially apply to the French citizens; they shall even be granted every preference in trading with the objects mentioned or specified in the present article, the export of which might, from certain circumstances, be suspended or prohibited.

Art. XI. All the products of the territory of the Republic, of the colonies, and French fisheries, may freely be introduced into the states of his Royal Highness, and they may be exported for that destination from the territory of the said Republic, in conformity with the restrictions which its own wants may render necessary.

Art. XII. All the products of the French manufactures may likewise be introduced into the states of his Royal Highness. If he deem it necessary, for

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the prosperity of his manufactures to decree certain restrictions or prohibitions, they cannot be applied in particular to French manufactures, to which his Royal Highness likewise promises to grant every preference which may be compatible with the prosperity of the manufactures of his own states.

The present article shall be executed with the most scrupulous reciprocity, to facilitate the introduction into France of the manufactures of the states of his Royal Highness.

XIII. There shall be a separate convention, for the purpose of establishing the duties on exports and imports, to be received by both parties. In case the said separate convention should not be accepted by the Republic, it is expressly agreed that the said duties shall be respectively collected and paid, in the same manner as they are by the most favoured nations.

XIV. The produce of the territory of the Republic, of the manufactures, colonies, and French fisheries, may freely pass through the states of his Royal Highness, or be deposited there, to be afterwards conveyed into other states of Italy, without paying any Custom-house duty, but merely a duty of transit, or passage, to be applied to the support of the roads; which duty shall be immediately established upon a moderate footing, which may be agreed upon by the contracting parties, at a certain rate per quintal and per league: this duty shall be payable at the first Custom-house.

From the Treaty of Peace concluded between the French Republic and the Pope. Feb. 19, 1797.

XXI. Until a treaty of commerce shall be concluded between the French Republic and the Pope, the commerce of the Republic shall be restored and maintained in the states of his Holiness on the same footing as that of the most favoured nation.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Emperor, concluded at Campo Formio, Oct. 17, 1797.

Art. XV. There shall be immediately concluded a treaty of commerce, established on equitable bases, and such as will ensure to his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and to the French Republic, advantages equal to those enjoyed in their respective states by the most favoured nations.

In the mean time all communications and commercial relations, shall be re-established in the same manner as they were before the war.

The Treaty of Commerce between the French and Cisalpine Republics. 1797.

Art. I. Neither of the two Republics shall ever prohibit the importation or consumption of any merchandize of the growth or manufacture of the other Republic, its ally.

II. Neither of the said Republics shall ever prohibit the exportation of any production of its territory, or merchandize of its manufacture, which may be destined for the Republic, its ally, excepting a temporary retention of grain or flour, merely in time of scarcity, and when the same prohibition shall apply, by a general law, to all other nations.

III. In case either of the two Republics should think fit to put the importation duty on any produc-

tion or merchandize of the growth or manufacture of its ally, such duty must not exceed six per cent. on the value of the article.

IV. Until the period of a general peace, all the duties shall be reduced one half, when the productions or merchandizes of the growth or manufacture of the two Republics shall arrive in waggons or ships of either party, conducted, if waggons, by citizens of one or other Republic, or if ships, with the proviso, that three-fourths at least of the crew shall consist of citizens of one or other Republic.

V. At a general peace, the premium stipulated in the preceding article shall be taken off the productions or merchandizes which arrive in ships; but at that period, the productions and merchandizes of the growth or manufacture of France may not be imported into the ports of the Cisalpine Republic except in French or Cisalpine vessels. And likewise, the productions and merchandizes of Cisalpine growth and manufacture, must not be imported in the ports of France, except in Cisalpine or French vessels, the whole being intended to exclude the ships of every other nation, under penalty of confiscation of vessel and cargo, and of a fine of three thousand livres, to be levied on the persons of the proprietors, consignees and agents of the ships and cargoes, captains and lieutenants.

VI. The value, which will serve as a basis for the estimate of the importation duties, shall be ascertained by the bills of lading, or written declarations which accompany the expeditions; and in case the Custom-house officers should conceive the bills of lading or declarations to be fraudulent, they shall be at liberty to retain the merchandize, on paying for it at the rate of twenty-five per cent. on the value, and entering such payment at the bottom of the bill or declaration.

VII. Every vessel or waggon shall be provided with a declaration, made before the consul, or in his absence, before the municipal officer of the place, where the lading is made; which declaration must mention the country where the said merchandize was produced or manufactured.

VIII. The two Republics shall reciprocally employ all their good offices and influence, in order to obtain from the intermediate powers the desirable facility for the transit of their reciprocal commerce, either by the exemption of the conveyance duties, or by restitution, on egress, of those which may have been taken, at ingress.

IX. There shall be established relays of post-horses, and post-offices for letters, on the road from Milan to Paris; which road shall be directed by the Valais, the Pays de Vaud, passing through Lausanne, and along the road used before the peace of 1748. The French and Cisalpine Republics shall defray the expenses of these establishments on their respective territories. They shall jointly require the Helvetic Republic to form similar establishments in its territory.

X. The Executive Directory of the French Republic will employ its good offices with the powers of Barbary, to cause the Cisalpine flag to be treated with the same respect by their corsairs as is paid to the French flag.

From the Convention between France and the United States of America. Signed at Paris, Sept. 3, 1800.

VI. The trade between the two parties shall be free; the ships of the two nations, and their privateers, as well as their prizes, shall be treated in their

respective ports as those of the most favoured nation, and in general the two parties shall enjoy in each others ports, with respect to commerce and navigation, the same privileges as the most favoured nations.*

Extract of a Letter from his Excellency Lord St. Helen's to the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, dated Moscow, October 28, 1801.

I have the honour to transmit to your lordship, by this messenger, the additional articles to the convention of the 17/5th June, which have been signed by myself and the plenipotentiaries of this crown; together with an act which I have also concluded with the Danish plenipotentiary, containing the accession of that court to the said convention and additional articles, and its acceptance on the part of His Majesty.

Extract of a Letter from his Excellency Lord St. Helen's to the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, dated Petersburg, April 2, 1802.

I have the satisfaction of transmitting to your lordship the Swedish Act of Accession to the convention of the 17/5th June 1801, which was signed (with its duplicate) on the 30th past, by myself, and the Baron de Stedingk; and instruments of a like tenor were at the same time interchanged between that minister and the plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty. I have moreover the satisfaction of being enabled to assure your lordship, that the Swedish ambassador has been distinctly informed by the Count de Kotschoubey, that as the motives which had occasioned the late revival of the system of the Armed Neutrality were now happily done away, that system is considered by this court as completely annulled and abandoned, not only as a general code of maritime law, but even in its more limited meaning of a specific engagement between the Russians and the other confederates.

By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

Whereas a Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Us, the French Republic, his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian Republic, hath been concluded at Amiens, on the Twenty-seventh day of March last, and the Ratifications thereof have been duly exchanged: in conformity thereunto, We have thought fit hereby to command that the same be published throughout all Our dominions; And We do declare to all Our loving subjects Our will and

* The Convention consists of twenty-seven articles, twenty-two of which relate to commerce and navigation; and some of them adopt, in direct terms, the principles of the Northern Confederacy.—This Convention is to be found entire in Porcupine's Works, Vol. xii. p. 218.

To the treaties, above extracted from, may be added those, which France has lately formed with Russia (Register, p. 163,) the Porte (Register, p. 166, Portugal (Register, p. 166,) and Tunis (Register, p. 430,) making in all sixteen treaties, concluded by France since the year 1794, in which she has stipulated for commercial privileges.

pleasure, that the said Treaty of Peace and Friendship be observed inviolably as well by sea as land, and in all places whatsoever; strictly charging and commanding all Our loving subjects to take notice hereof, and to conform themselves thereunto accordingly.

Given at Our Court at Windsor, the Twenty-sixth Day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, in the Forty-second Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION

DECLARING THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

GEORGE R.

Whereas by an Act passed in the Thirty-fourth Year of our Reign, intituled, An Act for the further Encouragement of British Mariners, and for other purposes therein mentioned, various provisions are made which are directed to take effect from and after the expiration of six months from the conclusion of the then existing war, to be notified in manner therein mentioned; and it is thereby further enacted, that, for the purposes of the said Act, the conclusion of the said war shall be holden to be from the time that the same shall be notified by our Royal Proclamation, or Order in Council, to be published in the London Gazette: And whereas a Definitive Treaty of Peace has been duly ratified between Us, the French Republic, his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian Republic; We have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, for the purposes of the said Act, hereby to notify and declare the conclusion of the said war, by this our Royal Proclamation, to be published in the London Gazette; and we do direct the same to be published accordingly.

Given at our Court at Windsor, the Twenty-sixth Day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, in the Forty-second Year of our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION

For a PUBLIC THANKSGIVING.

GEORGE R.

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God, in His great goodness, to put an end to the late bloody, extended, and expensive war, in which we were engaged; we, therefore, adoring the Divine Goodness, and duly considering that the great and public blessings of peace do call for public and solemn acknowledgments, have thought fit, by the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby appointing and commanding, that a General Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for these His Mercies, be observed throughout those parts of our united Kingdom called England and Ireland, on Tuesday, the first day of June next: and for the better and more devout solemnization of the same, we have given directions to the Most Reverend the Archbishops, and the Right Reverend the Bishops of England, to compose a Form of Prayer suitable to this occasion; to be used in all churches and chapels, and other places of public worship, and to take care for the timely dispersing of the same throughout their respective Dioceses: And we do strictly charge and command, That the said Public



Day of Thanksgiving be religiously observed by all our loving subjects, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and upon pain of suffering such punishment as we may justly inflict upon all such as shall contemn or neglect the same.

Given at Our Court at Windsor, the Twenty-sixth Day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, in the Forty-second Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION
For a PUBLIC THANKSGIVING.

GEORGE R.

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God, in His great goodness, to put an end to the late bloody, extended, and expensive war, in which we were engaged; we, therefore, adoring the Divine Goodness, and duly considering that the great and public blessings of peace do call for public and solemn acknowledgments, have thought fit, by the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby appointing and commanding, that a General Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for these His Mercies, be observed throughout that part of our kingdom called Scotland, upon Tuesday, the first day of June next: and we do strictly charge and command, that the said Public Thanksgiving be reverently and decently observed by all our loving subjects, in Scotland, on the first day of June next, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid His wrath and indignation, and upon pain of such punishment as we may justly inflict on all such as contemn or neglect the performance of so religious a duty: Our will and pleasure is therefore, and we charge, that this our Proclamation seen, ye pass to the Market Cross of Edinburgh, and all other places needful, and there, in our name and authority, make publication thereof, that none pretend ignorance; and our will and pleasure is, that our Solicitor do cause printed copies hereof to be sent to the Sheriffs of the several Shires, Stewards of Stewartries, and Bailiffs of Regalities, and their Clerks, whom we ordain to see the same published: And we appoint them to send copies thereof to the several parish churches within their bounds, that upon the Lord's Day immediately preceding the day above-mentioned, the same may be published and read from the pulpits immediately after Divine Service.

Given at Our Court at Windsor, the Twenty-sixth Day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, in the Forty-second Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,
His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,

I now come to the 8th, and last point, of my proposed discussion of the Treaty of Amiens, namely, the omission of the customary renewal of former treaties, which is pregnant with present disgrace and with future dis-

advantage and danger. The treaties heretofore renewed, at the conclusion of every peace, form part of the law of nations, and are, in the settling of disputes, by which wars are prevented, universally referred to as such.* The omission to renew them, therefore, renders them, at once, so many volumes of waste paper, and unequivocally, though tacitly, sanctions the right, which France has assumed, to make all nations amenable to that new code of laws, which is made up of the treaties that she has, during the last ten years, by force or by fraud, obtained from the powers of Europe.

There are some, who affect to doubt, whether the position, that all former treaties are abrogated because not renewed, can be maintained upon the simple ground that it has been customary to make such renewal; but, my lord, those who have other and stronger grounds, whereon to maintain this position, will not confine themselves to the one here pointed out. They will assert, that it is universally admitted, that war abrogates all the treaties, which before existed between the powers opposed to each other in the war. This is a maxim as clearly acknowledged, and of as unshaken validity in settling the rights and pretensions of nations, as are any of the decisions in the books of our common law, in deter-

* The list of treaties, renewed at the peace of 1793, was as follows:

"Art. II. The treaties of peace of Westphalia of 1648, of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679, of Ryswick of 1697, and of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1736; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748; and the definitive treaty of Paris of 1763, serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty, and for this purpose they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, so that they are to be exactly observed for the future in their full tenour, and religiously executed by both parties in all the points, which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty of peace."

The same list, with the exception of that of Westphalia, of 1648, with the addition of that of Paris, of 1793, was proposed for renewal in the project of Lord Malmesbury of Lisle; and, as there were certain stipulations relative to Spain, Portugal and Holland, the following general renewal was introduced with respect to former treaties with those powers.

"Art. XVII. All former treaties of peace between the respective parties, to whom the said three articles relate, and which subsisted and were in force at the commencement of hostilities between them respectively, shall be renewed, except in such instances only where the same may be derogated from by mutual consent."

mining the rights of individuals. In what light the French see this matter, what is their opinion of the consequence of the omission I am speaking of, appears very clearly, not only from the objection, which, during the negotiation at Lisle, they made to the renewal of former treaties, but also, and still more clearly, from the reasons, on which that objection was founded.* That

* *Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, July 16, 1797.*

"It was at the express invitation of the French Plenipotentiaries that I met them on Thursday the 13th instant; one of them stated their motive for wishing to confer with me not to be in consequence of any answer they had received from Paris on the subject of the project, which, he observed, could not be expected so soon, but to resume the discussion on the article which he had objected to on my first reading the project, and on which they conceived it was possible and even expedient to argue, before we entered upon the more important branches of the negotiation. It was article II that he referred to. He objected to the renewal of the treaties therein mentioned, from various reasons;—first, that many, and even most of them, were irrelevant to that we were now negotiating; secondly, that they were in contradiction to the new order of things established in France, as they seem to imply an acknowledgment that a portion of the regular authority is still existing;—thirdly, that they might be supposed to apply to conventions and stipulations in direct contradiction to their present form of government, and he quoted the convention of Pilnitz in particular. I was about to reply to him, and I trust in a way that would have done away his apprehensions on this point, when another of them interposed, by saying, that their sincere and only desire was, that the treaty we were now entering upon might be so framed as to secure permanently the object for which it was intended; that no article likely to produce this end might be omitted, nor any doubtful one inserted; but that the whole, as well with regard to the past as to the future, might be so clearly and distinctly expressed, that no room for cavil might be left. This, he assured me, in the name of his colleagues, was all that was meant by their objection to renew so many treaties, in which such various interests were blended, and so many points discussed foreign to the present moment. Their renewing them in a lump, and without examining carefully to what we were pledged by them, might involve us in difficulties much better to be avoided. I replied, that I admitted most certainly all he said, and that it was with this view, and on this principle solely, that the renewal of these treaties was proposed by his Majesty; and that if he recollected (as he undoubtedly did,) the different wars which were terminated by these treaties, and the many important regulations stipulated by them, he would admit that the allowing them to remain in their full force was simply an acknowledgment of the tenure by which almost all the sovereigns of Europe, and particularly the French Republic, held their dominions up to this day. That these treaties were become the law of nations, and that infinite confusion would result from their not being renewed.

the opinion of the Dutch, supposing them independent, perfectly coincides with that of their ally, the exposition which they have given of the treaty of Amiens (Register, p. 381) leaves not the shadow of a doubt; and, unless miracles should revive, to supply the omissions of political compacts, from Spain we may surely depend on a similar decision.

If, then, my lord, all former treaties between England and the opposite contracting parties are, as, I think, you will not deny, entirely abrogated and effaced by the treaty of Amiens, it behoves the nation to enquire what they have lost by that abrogation.

With respect to those colonies and countries of which we are actually in possession, over which we exercise the *sole* and *undisputed* sovereignty, the omitted renewal of former treaties may, for some time, at least, be attended with no material consequence; but, as far as regards those rights and privileges, whether of an honorary, a commercial, or a territorial nature, which we enjoy purely in virtue of some positive stipulation, and the enjoyment of which we have not the power to retain without having recourse to arms, the effects of the present abrogation will, some of them immediately, and others at no very distant period, be seriously felt.

To point out *all* the rights and privileges, which we have abandoned by this fatal omission, and to show, in their full extent, all the mischiefs reasonably to be expected therefrom, would require much more knowledge on the subject than I can be supposed to possess. Some of them, however, have occurred to me, as they must to even the most superficial observer, and on these I shall offer your lordship some remarks.

In virtue of our former treaties with France, and by no other title whatsoever, we enjoy the *gum trade* on the coast of Africa. This privilege was renewed to us in the treaty of Versailles, and Mr. Fox, who was then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, assumed, in the debate upon that treaty, great merit for having taken

He replied that our object was evidently the same, that we only differed as to the manner. I thought the renewing these treaties *in toto* would be the best contribute to it; while they were inclined to think that extracting from them every thing which immediately related to the interests of the two countries, and stating it in one article, was more likely to attain this desirable object.

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are that it should ascertain with precision the conditions, on which the trade should in future be carried on.*

This trade, though, doubtless, of very trifling value in the estimation of your lordship, would not have been lightly thrown away by a statesman less indifferent to the interests of his country. It has, of late years, employed 5,000 tons of shipping and 400 seamen. The cargoes brought an immense profit to the traders; they were of indispensable utility in certain branches of our manufactures, and contributed something very considerable towards the revenue, which is now, more than ever, necessary to answer the necessities of the state. Let it be observed, too, that this trade was attended with no national risk or expense. It was carried on in the dominion of another power; to protect it required neither fleets nor armies, neither governors nor officers of any description. It was such a trade as even Dr. Tucker, Dr. Price, Dr. Priestley, Dr. Becke, or any other economical politician, might have suffered us to carry on without remonstrance. It was, in short, so much clear gains: it demanded neither money nor blood, but was the spontaneous fruit of diplomacy.

The tenure, on which we held this trade, was, I have before observed, purely that of a positive stipulation, renewed from time to time, and last of all, in the treaty of peace, concluded at Versailles, in 1783.†

* Mr. Fox said, that by the preliminary treaty, no boundaries were ascertained for our carrying on the gum trade; whereas by the 11th article of the definitive treaty, the boundaries were expressly laid down and described: that ambiguity and want of precision, which would have been the productive source of quarrels, was removed; and it would not be easy to dispute on the meaning of the spirit of the article, as now worded. According to the preliminary articles, the gum trade was to be carried on in the same manner in which it used to be carried on before the year 1755; that is to say, when it was carried on by violence, and constantly attended by acts of hostility, which daily afforded grounds of quarrel, that might possibly, in the end, bring on a war, that would defeat the honourable member's laudable wishes for the establishment of a real sinking fund, for paying off some part of the national debt:—by the care taken during the late negotiation, the coast on which the gum trade might be carried on was ascertained, he hoped, to the satisfaction of all the persons concerned in it; at least it was an advantage to have it ascertained.

† Extract from the Treaty between the Kings of England and France, signed at Versailles, Sept. 3, 1783.

“Art. XI. For preventing all discussion in that part of the world, the two high contracting parties

Disgraceful as the American war was to the arms and the cabinet of England, ruinous as it was to her finances, her manufactures, and her navigation, unpopular and hateful as it was to the people, still the ministers, who made the peace, took care to retain those rights and privileges, to preserve those interests and honours, which your lordship and your colleague have now sacrificed to our enemy. Do you imagine, my lord, that the French will, notwithstanding the omission to renew the stipulation respecting the gum trade, suffer us to carry on that trade as usual? Do you hope that, having rendered its continuation entirely dependent on their pleasure, they will keep it in their hand as a hold on our selfishness, as a sort of pledge for some further concession, some act of submission, some acknowledgment of vassalage, which has not yet entered even into the mind of your lordship? I must confess that such a hope on your part, and such conduct on theirs, would in no wise derogate from the opinion, which you must certainly entertain of each other; but, my lord, their haste to derive commercial benefit from your disposition, your readiness, to sacrifice the interests of your country, has not permitted them to leave you a foundation even for this humble and pitiful hope. By a decree, issued on the 15th of December last, six weeks after the fatal 1st of October, they have declared to the world, that *none but FRENCH SHIPS shall be allowed to trade to the colony of Senegal or its dependencies*, after three months from the publication of the said decree at Port Louis.‡ Thus, then, unless your lord-

shall, within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, name commissaries, who shall be charged with the settling and fixing of the boundaries of the respective possessions. As to the gum trade, the English shall have the liberty of carrying it on, from the mouth of the river St. John, to the bay and fort of Portendic, inclusively. Provided that they shall not form any permanent settlement, of what nature soever, in the said river St. John, upon the coast, or in the bay of Portendic.

‡ Bulletin of the Laws, No. 139.

Decree respecting ships allowed to trade with the French colony of Senegal, dated the 25th Frimaire, 10th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The Consuls of the Republic, upon the report made by the Minister of Marine to the Council of State, decree:

First article.—That from the day of the publication of the present decree at the Island of St. Louis, in the Colony of Senegal, *French ships only shall be allowed to trade in all ports of the said French colony.*

ship should insist, that, seeing the state of servitude to France, in which we are now placed, our vessels can hardly be considered as any thing else than *French ships*; unless you should, which is not altogether improbable, bolster up your defence of the peace with this consolatory reflection, you must allow, that, in consequence of the treaty of Amiens, the gum trade is already completely wrested from our hands.

The next right, which we have lost, or, at least, exposed to imminent danger, by the omissions in the treaty of Amiens, is, the very important right of *restraining the commerce of the French in India*.

I must confess, my lord, that, for my own part, I am no great admirer of that *imperium in imperio*, called "the Honourable East-India Company;" I feel very little awe, and not much reverence, when I pass under the Corinthian portico in Leadenhall Street. I speak not of the persons, but of the thing, and I really do not see with pleasure any subject, or body of subjects, participating in those acts of sovereignty and of sovereign munificence, which ought to be exclusively exercised by him, to whom we all owe allegiance, and who ought to be the only source of authority and of honour. Nor can I bring my mind to adopt that extravagant estimate which is usually made of our East-India colonies, or to speak in the modern style, of our *Empire* in the East. That empire is very unweildy, not at all congenial with the species of force which we possess, and, of course, held on a tenure much more frail than parcels of territory surrounded by the sea. I have viewed the extension of the Eastern Empire, and the increasing partiality for its partnership kind of government, with fear rather than exultation, and I never hear of the contention between the Company and the private trade without reflecting on the consequences of the stamp act.

But, my lord, though I would prefer

II. That neutral ships which shall be taking in cargoes at the time of the arrival of the decree may complicate their loading, for which purpose they will be allowed a delay of two decades.

III. That the Ministers of the Marine and of the Interior, are charged each as far as it concerns them, with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws.

(Signed) BUONAPARTÉ, First Consul.

By order of the First Consul,

HUGUES R. MARET, Secretary of State.

DACRES, Minister of the Marine and Colonies.

St. Domingo to the whole continent of Asia, I am not, for that reason, to approve of your having endangered the safety of India, which is certainly now become the most important of our foreign possessions. Hemmed up in the West-Indies; beset on every side, thwarted in every wind, and stopped in every passage, as we are in that our more natural element, it behoves us to guard with greater caution what we elsewhere retain. India is, in fact, our last stake. That there wants nothing but the loss of it, or a serious interruption to its tranquillity, to render England a poor and diminutive power, is the opinion of the whole world; and, my lord, that the treaty of Amiens has laid the foundation for such loss, or such interruption, will, I think, be denied by but very few of those persons, who have given themselves time to reflect on the probable consequences of that treaty.

To enter into a history of our dominion in India would be foreign to my purpose; suffice it to say, that we there have *no territorial rights, nor rights of any sort, but those which the French claim in common with us*. Of this claim, on the part of France, we have never been able to obtain a renunciation. She has never acknowledged our sovereignty over what we call our empire; nor has she ever yielded, except in virtue of special agreement, her right to trade to, and to form settlements in, any part of that empire. To restrain her connection and commerce with the several provinces of India is a right founded solely on her consent, a right which was first obtained by positive stipulations between her and us. At the peace of 1783, the right was preserved by the *renewal* of these stipulations; and, as the treaty of Amiens contains no such renewal, the right no longer exists.

This right as it was formerly exercised, and as it was renewed to us in the treaty of 1783,* authorized us to confine the set-

* *Extract from the Treaty of Versailles, of 1763.*

"Art. XIII. The King of Great-Britain restores to his most Christian Majesty all the settlements which belonged to him at the beginning of the present war, upon the coast of Oriza, and in Bengal, with liberty to surround Chandernagore with a ditch for carrying off the waters: and his Britannic Majesty engages to take such measures as shall be in his power for securing to the subjects of France in that part of India, as well as on the coast of Oriza, Coromandel, and Malabar, a safe, free, and independent trade, such as was carried on by the French East-

ments and factories of France within certain fixed bounds, and to prevent her from trading with other parts of India beyond an extent, which was not, indeed, precisely defined, but which was thought to be so clearly understood by both parties, that neither regarded it as capable of furnishing a ground of dispute. Such, however, was the inclination of the French to extend their trade with the British possessions in India, and, indeed, to claim and exercise the same privileges which we claim and exercise in those possessions, that a very serious misunderstanding, not unaccompanied with violence, soon took place between our colonial rulers and the traders of France. To put an end to a contestation, which, if long suffered to exist, must have again involved the two nations in a war, a convention was entered into at Versailles, in August, 1787. In this convention, France consents to restrict her importation of salt into Bengal to a specific quantity per annum, and also to deposit the said salt into the hands of the officers of the British government there, at a certain price fixed by the convention. She further consents to restrict her exports from the same province, to specified articles and quantities; and, in those places where she possessed houses of commerce, in any of the territories, which we called ours, she consents that her factors, and other of her subjects there residing, shall be under the British jurisdiction, and not exempt from the ordinary justice of the country, exercised over British subjects.*

India Company, whether they exercise it individually, or united in a company.

"Art. XV. France shall re-enter into possession of Mahé, as well as of its factory at Surat; and the French shall carry on their trade in this part of India conformably to the principles established in the thirteenth article of this treaty."

* Extract from a Convention between the Kings of England and France. Signed at Versailles, August 21, 1787.

"Art. I. His Britannic Majesty again engages "to take such measures as shall be in his power, for securing to the subjects of France a safe, free, and independent trade, such as was carried on by the French East-India Company," and as is explained in the following articles "whether they exercise it individually or as a company" as well in the Nabobship of Arcot and the countries of Madura and Tanjore, as in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá, the Northern Circars, and in general in all the British possessions on the coasts of Orixá, Coromandel, and Malabar.

"Art. II. In order to prevent all abuse and disputes relative to the importation of salt, it is agreed

Now, my lord, this convention; together with the circumstances which gave rise to it, most clearly evince the necessity of positive stipulations to enable us to restrain the commercial and territorial rights of France in India. These stipulations are now completely abrogated. The French may now import as much salt as they can find the means of importing, and they may sell it at whatsoever price, and to whatsoever persons, they please. They may export, if they are able, the whole produce of India, in every part of which they may, and very probably they at this moment do, claim a jurisdiction of equal validity with our own. We have, it is true, nine points of the law in our favour—we have *possession*; but this brings back our tenure to the *droit du plus fort*; deprives it of all legal security; places it at once upon the issue of the sword; and, my lord, you have, without *marching to Paris*, learnt, that this is an instrument which Buonaparté has constantly by his side.

What plans the French have in contemplation, what measures they may pursue, with respect to India, what will be the nature of their pretext or the date of their operations, it is impossible precisely to fore-

that the French shall not import annually into Bengal more than two hundred thousand maunds of salt: the said salt shall be delivered at a place of deposit appointed for that purpose by the government of Bengal, and to officers of the said government at the fixed price of one hundred and twenty rupees for every hundred maunds.

"Art. III. There shall be delivered annually for the French commerce, upon the demand of the French agent in Bengal, eighteen thousand maunds of saltpetre, and three hundred chests of opium, at the price established before the late war.

"Art. IV. The six antient factories, namely, Chandernagore, Cossimbuzar, Dacca, Bugdea, Balasore, and Patna, with the territories belonging to the said factories, shall be under the protection of the French flag, and subject to the French jurisdiction.

"Art. V. France shall also have possession of the antient houses of Soopore, Keerpoy, Cannicole, Mohunpore, Serampore and Chittagong, as well as the dependencies on Soopore, viz. Gautjurat, Allende, Chintzabad, Patorcha, Monopore, and Dolobody, and shall further have the faculty of establishing new houses of commerce, but none of the said houses shall have any jurisdiction or any exemption from the ordinary justice of the country exercised over British subjects.

"Art. VI. His Britannic Majesty engages to take measures to secure to French subjects, without the limits of the antient factories above-mentioned, an exact and impartial administration of justice, in all matters concerning their persons or properties, or the carrying on their trade, in the same manner, and as effectually as to his own subjects."

see; but, he who can reflect on the irresistible desire which they have to wrest India from our hands; he who can reflect on their reiterated denunciations against this source of our riches and our power, on the desperate and incredible efforts they have already made to accomplish their object, and on the vast increase of means, of every sort, which your treaty has given them; he who can reflect on all this, without trembling for the consequences of the treaty of Amiens, must, I think, equal even your lordship in that happy frigidity of soul, which enables you to contemplate with unconcern the present disgrace and the approaching ruin of your country.

Such are a part, and only a part, of the losses and dangers to which the omissions of the treaty will subject us, with respect to those rights, which we enjoyed by virtue of former treaties with France. The rights forfeited by a neglect to renew our former treaties, or, at least, part of those treaties, with Spain, are far from being inconsiderable. Of these I shall mention, at present, only that of *cutting dying woods and mahogany in the Bay of Honduras*.

This right, like those before-mentioned, rests solely upon positive and special convention between our Sovereign and the King of Spain. We have no claim, nor have ever preferred any pretensions, to the sovereignty of the lands, on which this right has hitherto been exercised. In former treaties, as in that of 1763, for instance, we obtained a renewal of the permission, in rather loose and general terms, to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras.* This permission was again renewed at the peace of 1763; but, Mr. Pitt, sensible of the im-

portance of the privilege, wished to secure its enjoyment by stipulations more specific and solemn, which he obtained in the convention, signed at London, in 1786.† This

† *Extract from the Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Spain, signed at London, July 14, 1786.*

“ Art. I. His Britannic Majesty's subjects and the other colonists who have hitherto enjoyed the protection of England shall evacuate the country of the Mosquitos, as well as the continent in general and the islands adjacent without exception, situated beyond the line hereinafter described, as what ought to be the frontier of the extent of territory granted by his Catholic Majesty to the English, for the uses specified in the 3d article of the present convention, and in addition to the country already granted to them in virtue of the stipulations agreed upon by the commissaries of the two crowns in 1763.

“ Art. II. The Catholic King, to prove, on his side, to the King of Great-Britain, the sincerity of his sentiments of friendship towards his said Majesty, and the British nation, will grant to the English more extensive limits than those specified in the last treaty of peace: and the said limits of the lands added by the present convention shall, for the future, be understood in the manner following:

“ The English line, beginning from the sea, shall take the centre of the river Leun, or Jabon, and continue up to the source of the said river; from thence it shall cross in a straight line the intermediate land, till it intersects the river Wallis; and by the centre of the same river, the said line shall descend to the point where it will meet the line already settled and marked out by the commissaries of the two crowns in 1763: which limits, following the continuation of the said line, shall be observed as formerly stipulated by the definitive treaty.

“ Art. III. Although no other advantages have hitherto been in question, except that of cutting wood for dying, yet his Catholic Majesty, as a greater proof of his disposition to oblige the King of Great-Britain, will grant to the English the liberty of cutting all other wood, without even excepting mahogany, as well as gathering all the fruits, or produce of the earth, purely natural and uncultivated, which may, besides being carried away in their natural state, become an object of utility or of commerce, whether for food or for manufactures; but it is expressly agreed that this stipulation is never to be used as a pretext for establishing in that country any plantation of sugar, coffee, cocoa, or other like articles, or any fabric or other manufacture, by means of mills or other machines whatsoever (this restriction however does not regard the use of saw mills, for cutting, or otherwise preparing the wood,) since all the lands in question being indisputably acknowledged to belong of right to the Crown of Spain, no settlements of that kind, or the population which would follow, could be allowed.

“ The English shall be permitted to transport and convey all such wood, and other produce of the place, in its natural and uncultivated state, down the rivers to the sea, but without ever going beyond the limits which are prescribed to them by the stipulations above granted, and without thereby taking an opportunity of ascending the said rivers beyond their bounds, into the countries belonging to Spain.”

* *Extract from the Treaty of Peace, &c. between the Kings of England, France, and Spain, concluded at Paris, Feb. 10, 1763.*

“ Art. XVII. His Britannic Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty: and his Catholic Majesty shall not permit his Britannic Majesty's subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed or molested under any pretence whatsoever, in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood; and for this purpose they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines which are necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects: and his Catholic Majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages and powers, on the Spanish coast and territories, as above stipulated, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.”

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vention, together with the former stipulations on the subject, were abrogated by war; and, as you have not obtained a renewal of them, the right to cut logwood and mahogany may, of course, be numbered amongst those encumbrances, of which your lordship has procured us so happy a clearance.

How long the Spaniards, acting under the mandates of France, will suffer us to trade to Honduras, I cannot say. It is possible that they might find some amusement in tantalizing us with hopes of forbearance; in regarding us as tenants at will, continually liable to ejection. But, when they reflect on the cession of Trinidad, which we have so honestly and so honourably obtained, they cannot but seize with eagerness every opportunity to injure our interests and to mortify our pride. The enjoyment of the logwood trade will, therefore, be of short duration, and I shall be much disappointed if our wood-cutters are not very soon ejected, and that too with all those injuries and all those marks of contempt, which the subjects of Britain must now expect to meet with from every nation in the world, however base its disposition or however feeble its power.

The Dutch have, by the omission to renew former stipulations, deprived us of the right to an *unobstructed navigation in the Eastern seas*, and also of the right to demand and receive *the honours of the flag*.

These rights also were founded purely on special agreement. The right to navigate freely in the Eastern seas is derived from the consent of the States-General, as expressed, for instance, by the stipulation on that subject in the treaty of peace of 1784,* where they promise and engage *not to obstruct the navigation of British subjects in the Eastern seas*, the obtaining of which engagement clearly acknowledges, on our part, that they had a *right to interpose such obstruction*, and that that right now reverts to them from our omission to obtain a renewal of their engagement to the contrary. *Navigating in the Eastern seas* was, by us, construed to mean *trading to the Dutch possessions in those seas*, a meaning which we failed not to illustrate by prac-

tice, by the carrying on of a trade in spices of great emolument to our revenue, commerce, and navigation, and of indispensable necessity to the existence of Bengal. The Dutch disapproved of the broad construction, which we gave to the word *navigate* and its derivatives, in consequence of which provision was made, in the treaty of alliance of 1788, for the forming of a separate convention on this and some other points relating to the East-India trade,† which convention having never been entered into, the stipulation remained unimpaired by any thing but the war, till your lordship, resolving to get rid of *all disputes*, swept it away by the treaty of Amiens.

And here, again, let me ask how Mr. Fox, who prided himself (and not without reason) on having, in 1784, obtained this valuable stipulation, can defend, or rather, let me ask, how he can forbear to condemn, the present Definitive Treaty?

To the *honour of the flag*,‡ my lord, I

† Extract from the Treaty of Defensive Alliance, between the King of Great-Britain and the States General of the United Provinces, April 15, 1788.

“ Art. XI. And whereas their high Mightinesses have now renewed their request for obtaining that restitution, as well as for settling and determining precisely the sense of the VIth article of that treaty, concerning the navigation of British subjects in the Eastern seas; his Britannic Majesty, in order to manifest his good will towards the Republic, is disposed to concur in these desires of their High Mightinesses, and even to secure to the Republic additional and real commercial advantages in that part of the world, as soon as an equivalent for those objects can be agreed upon; in return for which his Britannic Majesty will require nothing but what is favourable to the reciprocal interests and security of the contracting parties in the Indies; and to prevent the negotiations for such arrangements from retarding the conclusion of the present treaty, it is agreed that they shall be begun as soon as possible, and be concluded in the space of six months from the date of the present treaty, and that the convention to be made thereon shall have the same force as if it was inserted in the treaty itself.”

‡ Extract from the Definitive Treaty of Peace, between his Britannic Majesty and the States-General, 1764.

“ Art. II. With respect to the honours of the flag, and the salute at sea, by the ships of the Republic towards those of his Britannic Majesty, the same custom shall be followed, as was practised before the commencement of the war which is just concluded.”

The mark of honour here stipulated for is defined in former treaties as follows:

Extract from the Treaty of Peace between Charles II. and the States General, concluded the 21-31 July, 1667.

“ Art. XIX. That the ships and vessels of the United Provinces, as well men of war as others,

* Extract from the Definitive Treaty of Peace, &c. between the King of Great-Britain and the States-General of the United Provinces, 1784.

“ Art. VI. The States-General of the United Provinces promise and engage not to obstruct the navigation of the British subjects in the Eastern seas.”

am not, after the late experience which the world has had of your sentiments, weak enough to suppose that *you* ever attached much importance. Yet, my lord, though the loss of this honour diminishes neither the salaries in Downing Street nor the profits of the London Flour Company, it is a loss that will be felt by the nation to the last hour of its political existence, the arrival of which hour it will, too, strongly, though invisibly, tend to accelerate. Honour is the soul of a nation, which, the moment it is deprived of its animating influence, ceases to excite either envy or dread; the pity that is bestowed on it for awhile gradually changes to disgust, till, at last, the world turns its back, leaving the loathsome object quietly to decay. That your lordship should treat these notions with contempt is perfectly natural; but, with respect to the particular point of honour, which I am now speaking of, I scruple not to assert, that we owe more to its former maintenance than to any other of those advantages, which are sacrificed by the peace. The yielding of this point, at the end of a war, is, to all intents and purposes, a signal of defeat, as completely so as the striking of the flag at the end of an engagement. We shall in vain endeavour to remind the world of our naval victories: they will, perhaps, allow that we were successful at the battle of Camperdown; but they will insist, and with great truth, that, if our *fleet* was victorious, our *country* is defeated. The Dutch, who have lost not a moment in proclaiming their triumph, exultingly observe, that they have *now* obtained what their forefathers so long and so desperately contended for without success; and you, my lord, and your worthy co-operators, have sacrificed what *our* forefathers purchased with their valour and their blood. How will the veteran sailor, who has been rocked in the cradle of the sea, who has, from his infancy, been accustomed to see the flag of Holland bow before that under which he sailed and fought; how will the Nelsons and the Duncans, the Smiths, the Warrens, and the Pellews; how will they despise, how will they execrate, the men, by whom the honour of the navy has thus been solemnly and irretrievably blasted? Where are we now to look for the source of that

meeting any men of war of the said King of Great-Britain, in the British seas, shall strike the flag and lower the top-sail in such manner as the same hath been formerly observed in any times whatsoever."

pride, that consciousness of superiority, which has hitherto, more than any other circumstance, contributed to our maritime success? Not only is every notion of superiority abandoned, but the contrary notion is acknowledged, declared, sanctioned, and ratified by the peace of Amiens. The world will give us full credit for sincerity, in this respect: he who bows down his neck will never want for feet to tread upon it. There is not a country upon earth where we shall not be, where we are not already, despised. The name of England will become a by word and a reproach amongst the nations; to be descended from her will be disgrace, and to belong to her infamy. In America, more particularly, we shall feel the effects of this degradation. There, where our friends were so numerous, so zealous, and so powerful, where, in spite of every thing that had happened, the people still boasted of their British descent; many of them still openly exulted, and all felt an inward pride, at the glorious achievements of Britain. In that country, my lord, we shall not have a single friend: the natives will now rejoice at having, in time, shaken off their allegiance; and those who have the misfortune to be still British subjects will disguise their connexion with as much care and anxiety as the branded felon hides the mark in his hand. In the State of New-York, my lord, I knew an old gentleman, who was born in England, and who in the early part of his life, had been a sailor in the royal navy. This gentleman happened to have a house take fire on the very day that the news of the battle off Camperdown reached the place where he lived. The neighbours assembled with great alacrity, as they always do in America, to assist in extinguishing the flames, but were desired, by the owner, to desist, for that it was "*an excellent bonfire for Duncan's victory.*" So remarkable, so strong, so noble an instance of devotion to the country is not, perhaps, to be found in the history of the world. Well, my lord, this gentleman, whose name is Corney; this very man now writes to his friend in London, "*I am ashamed to call myself an Englishman!*" Such is the change, which our disgrace will produce in the opinions and in the hearts of all those, who were formerly attached to England, and whose attachment contributed, in so many ways, to her influence, her interests, her power, and her safety.

Having gone through the enumeration of the most prominent of those rights and

privileges, which you have abandoned by the omission to renew former treaties, or, at least such parts of those treaties as particularly applied to this country and were essential to the preservation of her prosperity and her honour, I should now proceed to show, that this omission proceeded entirely from the ignorance, or the abject submission of those, by whom the negotiation was, on our part, conducted. But, my lord, your peace-proclaiming cavalcade approaches; your admirers begin to bray through the streets, and I must prepare to remove my wife and children; for, I have already heard, that your partizans have hoofs as well as ears. Your lordship will, therefore, have the goodness to excuse me, for the present, well assured, as you must be by this time, that death alone shall prevent me from doing ample justice to the diplomatic talents of you and your colleague.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient Servant,

Wm. Cobbett.

all Mall, April 29, 1802.

*Comparative View of the American War and Peace, and
the last War and present Peace.*

AMERICAN WAR.

Losses.

In North America, the thirteen Colonies. In the West-Indies, Tobago, Grenada, Dominica, St. Kitt's, St. Vincent's, Montserrat, Nevis, Tortola, and Turk's Head. In the Mediterranean, Minorca.

Conquests.

In the West-Indies, St.
cie. In the East-Indies,
ndicherry, Chanderna-
re, Mahé, and Surat.

LAST WAR.

Losses.

None.

Conquests.

In 1793. Tobago, St. Pierre, Miquelon, Pondicherry, with the other French settlements in the East-Indies; St. Domingo, Toulon.

In 1794. Martinique,
Guadaloupe, St. Lucie,
Desiada, Corsica.

In 1795. Malacca, Ceylon, Cape of Good Hope.

In 1796. Amboyna, Banda, &c. in the East-Indies; Demerary, Essequibo, Berbice, in the West-Indies.

In 1797. French establishments at Madagascar destroyed; Trinidad.

in 1798. Minorca.

In 1799. Surinam.

AMERICAN WAR.
Conquests.

LAST WAR.
Conquests.

In 1800. Greece, Cur-
çoa, Malta.

In 1801. Egypt.

Of these France reconquered Toulon, Corsica, and Guadeloupe; the rest we had to treat with for peace.

By the peace of 1783, which Parliament condemned, we restored to France,

In the West-Indies,

St. Lucie, and she acquired Tobago.

St. Lucie, Tobago, and
Martinique.

And to HoHand we restore Surinam, Demerary, Essequibo, Berbice, Curacao. We give up to Spain our settlements and trade in the Bay of Honduras; and France acquires the Spanish part of St. Domingo, and a very large part of Portuguese Guiana, with the absolute command of the Brazils.

We are allowed to keep
Trinidad, which we have
conquered from Spain.

We obtained back Grenada, Dominica, St. Kitt's, Montserrat, Nevis, Tortola, St. Vincent's, and Turk's Island; all which colonies had been conquered from us.

In the East-Indies,

we restored Pondicherry, with a limitation not to fortify it. Chandernagore, Mahé, and Surat.

we restore to France Pondicherry, without any restraint whatever; Chander-nagore, Mahé, and Su-rat. And to Holland, Co-chin, Malacca, Amboyna, Banda, and all the Dutch Spice Islands:

We are allowed to keep Ceylon (which we have conquered). We have made no stipulation for our navigation in the Eastern seas, without which we cannot carry on any trade to China, and we have left France in the unlimited enjoyment of such rights of intercourse and trade in India, as must annihilate our government in that country.

In Africa,

we gave up Goree and Senegal. We obtained a right to trade for gum on the gum coast.

we give up Goree and Senegal, without any stipulation for the gum trade; we restore the Cape of Good Hope; and we bind ourselves to evacuate Egypt, even though the Turks should be willing to grant us an establishment there.

In America,

we acknowledged the independence of the United States; we ceded St. Pierre

we restore St. Pierre and
Miquelon to France, and
we suffer her to acquire

By the Peace of 1783.

By the Peace of 1801.

By the Peace of 1783.

By the Peace of 1801.

and Miquelon to France, and Florida to Spain; we obtained back the Bahamas (which in the interim we had re-conquered).

Florida and Louisiana, which give her the entire command of Mexico, and a decisive influence over the United States.

In the Mediterranean,

Spain kept Minorca, which she had conquered from us.

we restore Minorca, which we had conquered from Spain; we cede Malta; we evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and leave to France the Island of Elba; we suffer France to annex to her dominions all Piedmont, together with Lombardy, and the largest and richest part of Italy.

In the Channel,

we ceded the Utrecht restriction on the harbour, &c. of Dunkirk, which had never been executed.

we restore St. Marcou, which we actually held; and we renounce the right of sovereignty of our flag in the British seas, which has been maintained for ages, and was expressly secured by our treaty with Holland in 1783.

The Army,

1783, in England, was represented, by the minister who made the peace, as being totally unequal to the defence of the country, and we had not 3,000 men fit for any foreign service. Our whole force in Great Britain was only 20,000 regulars of every description, and invalids, and 40,000 militia.

1801, was, in England, 116,000 men, exclusive of artillery, of 10,000 supplementary militia, of 7,000 seafencibles, and of a volunteer force of 130,000 men, capable of augmentation to any extent.

The Army in

Ireland did not amount to above 8,500 men, of whom 1,500 were recruits, and there was not in that country a man to spare for foreign service.

Ireland was 53,000 men, exclusive of artillery, and of the whole yeomanry force.

Besides this we had large garrisons in Ceylon, Malta, Minorca, the Cape of Good Hope, Madeira, and in the French, Dutch, and Danish West-India colonies which we had conquered. And in Egypt we had a victorious and disposable army of above 20,000 men.

The Navy, in

1783, was 127 ships of the line in commission, including 50's and guard-ships, and 263 frigates, sloops, bombs, &c.; total pennants 392, many of which

1801, was 167 ships of the line in commission, including 50's and guard-ships, and 333 frigates, sloops, bombs, &c.; total pennants 700.

were in bad condition and unmanned.

Total French, Spanish, and Dutch ships of the line 165, which were to have been augmented in that year by from 13 to 20 sail of the line; while it was said that not more than 2 or 3 sail of the line could be added to our force.

Brest, Toulon, Cadix, the Archipelago, and the Adriatic, were blocked by our fleets.

Total French, Spanish, and Dutch ships of the line, 57.

We had taken and destroyed, in the war, above 80 sail of the line of enemies, little less than 200 frigates, and from 240 to 250 smaller ships, besides 834 private armed vessels.

Prisoners in

1783, in England and Ireland, are supposed to have been nearly equal to those in France.

1801, in England 25,000 besides those in Ireland. In France, probably none, or at most 50, or 100 men.

Finances in

1783, a revenue rapidly decreasing, and deficient by nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the amount for which it was imposed.

An enormous unfunded debt.

Decreasing commerce.

1801, a revenue rapidly increasing. Financial means such as have enabled us, even under the present management, to find above 90 millions in the present year.

Increased commerce and resources of every kind keeping pace with the growing prosperity of the country.

None.

Sinking Fund,

between 4 and 5 millions for 1801, and rapidly increasing.

Commerce in

1783, was reduced to the lowest ebb by the loss of all our colonies; the total abandonment of the Mediterranean, and our naval inferiority in every quarter of the globe.

1801, was increased to a pitch of unparalleled prosperity by the conquests of almost all the enemy's foreign possessions, and the absolute superiority of our flag over the whole world.

The value of our exports to our West-India conquests and to the Cape amounted to near 1,800,000*l.* and our increased exports since the war to our own colonies was 1,433,000*l.* being the difference between 2,550,000*l.* at which it stood before the war, and 3,983,000*l.* the amount in 1800.

Commerce in

1793.	1801.
British manufactures exported £9,400,000	British manufactures exported £24,000,000
Total exports 14,000,000	Total exports 35,000,000
Total imports 10,300,000	Total imports 29,900,000
Total tons of merchant shipping 550,000	Total tons of merchant shipping 1,900,000

TO THE PUBLIC.

Most of the persons, who read this article, will recollect, that my house was assaulted by the celebrators of the Preliminaries of peace, because I refused to illuminate it on that occasion. There were two nights of illumination after that assault took place; but, I having applied to Lord Pelham for protection, his Lordship granted it with readiness and with effect. When the news of the signing of the Definitive Treaty arrived, I again took the liberty to apply to Lord Pelham, for the same purpose, and, if any serious attempt had been made on my house, I am fully persuaded that protection was at hand. No such attempt was, however, made. All the hints and invitations of the ministerial prints, though backed by the example of the public officers (where several hundreds of pounds of the public money were thrown away in illuminations) were not sufficient to recall the "*delirium of joy*," excited in the minds of the ignorant and unthinking, upon the arrival of the Preliminaries. The people had, in fact, had time to reflect; they had had time to feel; they had discovered, that peace brought none of those blessings, which they had foolishly expected from it, and, in proportion as they became acquainted with its disadvantageous and dishonourable terms, the gratitude they at first felt towards the framers of it, gradually changed into a resentment mixed with contempt; in short, the peace was daily becoming unpopular, and the projected illuminations, the endeavour to extort a shew of a contrary persuasion, completely failed.

To retrieve this defeat, to dazzle, to blind the people, to keep up the infatuation yet a little longer, by a grand and general blaze on the evening of the day on which peace should be proclaimed, every trick that necessity could devise, was put in practice. I have heretofore mentioned some of these tricks, and at the same time, I stated, that, if the government would pro-

mise the house-keepers protection against the violence of the brutal and houseless rabble, I would engage that London should, on the night of the proclamation, be as gloomy as the event, which that proclamation would announce.—I shall, hereafter, take occasion to shew, that this opinion was fully verified. At present I must beg leave to confine my narrative and remarks to what relates solely to my family and myself.

In the same degree that I perceived that the illumination was to be *compulsory*, I became resolute not to submit to the degradation, and, therefore, it was with great mortification, that, on the very evening before the proclamation, I saw my wife actually confined in that situation, which, above all others, requires comfort and tranquillity. I wrote immediately to Lord Pelham, informed him of this untoward circumstance, but, at the same time, expressed my resolution not to illuminate my house. His lordship, with a condescension, which I shall ever remember with gratitude, assured me, that he had given orders to Sir Richard Ford to protect from violence myself, my family, and my premises; and, if such violence was not opposed with as complete success as I could wish, no fault is, I am fully persuaded, to be attributed to the magistrates or officers, charged with the execution of his lordship's orders.

On Thursday about noon I began to grow apprehensive of the consequences of resistance. To hazard the life of her, who had been my companion and my support through all the storms I had endured, to whose gentleness, prudence, and fortitude, I owed whatever I enjoyed of pleasure, of fortune, or of reputation; to make this sacrifice was no longer to be thought of, and I had made up my mind to yield, when she bravely determined to be removed to the house of a friend, rather than her husband should submit to the mandates of a base and hireling mob. This removal had not taken place many hours before I had reason to congratulate myself upon it. A numerous and boisterous rabble, coming from Cockspur Street, began to assault the house, at about half past nine o'clock. Mr. Graham (one of the Bow Street magistrates) with his officers, used their utmost exertions to prevent violence, but in vain. The attack continued, with more or less fury, for about an hour and a half, during which time a party of horse-guards were called in to the aid of the civil power. Great

part of the windows were broken; the sash frames of the ground floor almost entirely demolished; the pannels of the window-shutters were dashed in; the window frames broken in several places; the door nearly forced open; and much other damage done to several parts of the house.

Six of the villains were apprehended, namely, CHARLES BELOE (son of the Rev. Wm. Beloe), a clerk in the General Post-Office; CHARLES WAGSTAFF, another clerk in the General Post-Office; JOHN HARWOOD, a sort of amanuensis to the Rev. Wm. Beloe; JOHN PARNEL, an Excise Officer; SAMUEL WISE, a servant to a Brush-maker at Aldgate; WILLIAM HARVEY, nothing at all. One of the two latter, I forget which, has been admitted to bail; the other five are in jail, and are to have a second hearing on Tuesday next, at twelve o'clock. The offence of the former, viz. Beloe, Wagstaff, and Harwood, was regarded as being of a capital nature, and they would, after their examination on Friday, have been committed to be tried for their lives, had not the magistrates of Bow Street consented to give them till Tuesday, in order to enable them to obtain the assistance of counsel, previous to their final commitment.—Mr. Heriot, the proprietor of the True Briton, stated, in that paper of Friday morning, that, "in Pall Mall, the windows of the house of two American booksellers were broken, because they would not put up a farthing candle to shew their disposition to humour the wishes of the people of England, but this was only a casual and contemptible occurrence, in the brilliant celebration of so happy an event." If Mr. Heriot could have seen how sheepish "the people of England" looked, yesterday, behind the bar of the Bow Street Office; if he had seen those gallant young Post-Office heroes, with dejected heads and eyes red with crying all night, he certainly would not have thought the occurrence so very "contemptible." It is somewhat singular that Mr. Heriot, in calling my partner and myself the "two American booksellers," should have adopted the very expression, which forms a considerable aggravation of the crime, for which the heroes of the Post-Office are now cooling their courage in a jail.

I regret that want of room compels me to break off in the midst of this address. I will, however, resume my narrative as

soon as possible; and I pledge my word to my readers, that I will amply expose the sources of that influence by which the late illumination was extorted from the people. Out of six villains apprehended at my house, four are in the pay of government!

Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, May 1, 1802.

The articles in this Number, relative to the Treaty of Amiens, are so long, and so necessary to appear this day, that we must postpone our Parliamentary and several other articles till next Number.—Complete sets of this Work may be had of any of the Newsmen; or of Messrs. Cobbett and Morgan, Pall Mall.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Lieutenant General C. Lyster, from the 3d Foot-Guards is appointed to the command of the 45th Foot, Vice Adeane, deceased.

The King, in approbation of the meritorious services of the Marine Corps, has directed that that useful body shall in future be called the ROYAL MARINES.

Lord Amherst is appointed Lord of the Bed Chamber.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.

Saturday....	76 $\frac{1}{2}$	Wednesday... 76 $\frac{1}{2}$
Monday....	76 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Thursday... 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ 7
Tuesday....	77 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$	Friday.... 77 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

Near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of April, 1802.

Days.	M's Age	Weather.	Winds.		Barometer.		Thermometer.	
			M.	A.	M.	A.	M.	A.
22		Fair.	SW	SW	29.86	29.8	53	60
23		Showery.	NW	NW	29.87	29.89	56	56
24		Fine.	SW	SW	30.02	29.99	50	56
25	1	Cloudy.	SW	W	29.81	29.78	56	54
26		Fine.	SW	SW	29.6	29.55	53	56
27		Rain.	SW	SW	29.45	29.44	52	47
28		Fair.	N	N	29.65	29.71	48	51

● New Moon (1st. Quar. ○ F. Moon.) Last Quarter